1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 826 (1928-29)

"Levirate prevails among the Jibaros, custom prescribing that a man shall marry the widow of his brother. Only if the husband has left no brother is the woman allowed to marry a man of another family. If the widow unlawfully marries or has sexual intercourse with another, the consequence, according to the belief of the Indians, may be the birth of a deaf and dumb or monstrous child (nētsi, pasúna), and the man who married the woman is likely to die soon afterwards. This is due to the belief that the spirit of the dead husband, who is jealous of the wife he left behind, will not cede her to any other man than his brother, who forms with himself as it were one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. The custom of levirate among the Jibaros is thus due partly to superstitious reasons and partly to the close relationship which is supposed to exist between two brothers.

A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

l: Karsten--212-213 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 783 (1928-29)

"If a woman becomes a widow she cannot marry again at will but is bound by certain restrictions. First and foremost, owing to the close relationship assumed between brothers, she is believed naturally to belong to the eldest brother of her deceased husband, who is bound to marry her. If he had no brothers she may marry another man, generally in some way related to her former husband, but not at once. The prohibition of her remarriage when or with whom she likes is due to the superstitious ideas mentioned in the last chapter. Generally the widow has to wait for one year before she can marry again, or until the hair of her head which at the death of her husband was cut short, has again grown long. Besides this, she has to pass through a certain purificatory ceremony with fire. The widow has to sit down on a seat, her head is covered with a cloth, and a termite nest is set on fire, the smoke of which she has to receive in her face until she is nearly suffocated. This smoking ceremony is believed to purify her from the taboo attaching to her after the death of her husband and she can now remarry. If the woman marries before the year has elapsed, or does not pass through the purification ceremony just mentioned, the consequence may be that the new [213] husband will soon die and that the child she gives birth to will be a monster. The demon operating in this case is again the spirit or soul of the dead husband, who jealously watches his former wife. Among the Jibaros therefore untimely marriages of widows are as strictly prohibited as marriages between near relatives."

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly, [sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu,

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

2: Stirling--114 [6] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 587

"The levirate prevails among the Jivaros. When a man dies the brother who is closest to him has the right to claim his widow. It is not compulsory for him to take her as a wife, although usually he does so. Custom dictates, however, that in the event he does not take her as a wife, she nevertheless lives in his house and becomes a member of his household until someone else marries her. It is not necessarily the oldest brother upon whom these duties fall."

28: Tessman--361 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 768, 587

The estate is not destroyed, but passed on to the heirs. The estate is rather evenly distributed among the sons and brothers of the father, and other relatives may get something, too, if they wish. Even the wife is passed on as part of the estate: she goes to the older brother of her deceased husband, and she lives with him as early as one to two weeks after her husband's death.

28: Tessman--362 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 587

According to Karsten (Contributions etc. pp. 75 ff.) the brother of the deceased marries the widow; only if there is no brother, the widow has a free choece with regard to her second marriage.

12:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK*

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[9] If one simply dies of contagious disease or old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, saliva-pureed in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanch* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*nukuch*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanch* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanch* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ičí*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common. Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-